DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 299 522 CG 021 168

AUTHOR Swanson, Keith Allen
TITLE Childrearing Practices and the Development of Prosocial Behavior.
PUB DATE May 88
NOTE 38p.; Doctoral research paper, Biola University, California.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Dissertations/Theses - Undetermined (040)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; *Child Development; *Child Rearing; *Children; *Parent Child Relationship; Parent Influence; *Parenting Skills; *Prosocial Behavior; Research Problems

ABSTRACT

In the developmental literature increasing attention has been given to childrearing factors and their influence on the development of childhood behavior and attitudes, focusing primarily on maladaptive behaviors. Relatively little attention has been focused on positive family factors and their influence on prosocial development. However, research suggests that childrearing practices have a great impact on children's social development. Three factors foster prosocial development: (1) a nurturing environment encourages prosocial behaviors; (2) certain teaching techniques produce prosocial behaviors in the child; and (3) some corrective measures both modify deviant behavior and promote prosocial behavior. Methodological issues in this research include the correlational nature of the research and the lack of research on causal relationships. Other limitations include subject effects on internal validity, potential bias of self-report measures, observer/rater effects, and reactivity to the experimental arrangements weakening external validity. Practical applications of this research for parents include empathy for their children, verbal encouragement for prosocial behavior, and authoritative parenting. (ABL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED299522

CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BY

KEITH ALLEN SWANSON

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Keith Swanson
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

APPROVED:

First Reader _____ Date 6/23/88

Second Reader _____ Date 6/17/88

CG 021168

APPROVED:

Dean _____

6/17/88
Date

CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

A Doctoral Research Paper

Presented to

The Faculty of the Rosemead School of Psychology

Biola University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Psychology

---

by

Keith Allen Swanson

May 1988

3

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION.....1

FACTORS FACILITATING PROSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.....2

Facilitating Atmosphere.....2

Teaching Techniques.....6

Correction.....9

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND FUTURE RESEARCH.....15

Methodological Issues.....15

Future Research.....18

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS.....21

Facilitating Atmosphere.....22

Teaching Techniques.....26

Correction.....27

CONCLUSION.....29

REFERENCES.....31

ABSTRACT

CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Keith Allen Swanson

Childrearing practices that promote the development of prosocial behaviors in children are examined through a review of the empirical research. These practices are categorized under three major factors: a facilitating atmosphere, teaching techniques, and corrective measures. Methodological problems and suggestions for future research are discussed. Practical implications drawn from the research findings for use in the development of prosocially oriented parent training programs are presented. It is concluded that if the suggested implications are applied, they could significantly advance parent training programs concerned with the development of prosocial behaviors.

CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

In the developmental literature, increasing attention has been given to childrearing factors and their influence on the development of childhood behavior and attitudes. This research has primarily focused on maladaptive behaviors (eg., antisocial and aggressive behaviors) in childhood. Heatherington in a recent summary indicated family factors that impact childhood psychopathology. She documented how family factors, such as, divorce, parental expectations, and family size can have harmful effects on child development. In contrast to a focus on negative aspects, there has been relatively little focus on positive family factors and their influence on prosocial development.

Cowen, Pederson, Babigian, Izzo, and Trost (1973) found that children who struggled with social problems were more likely to develop psychopathology as adults. A mental health plan that trained children in positive communication and prosocial skills was implemented in the childhood years. This program was found to reduce the probability of later psychopathology. The development of prosocial behaviors appeared to buffer against the growth of psychopathology in childhood and later adulthood.

The above literature suggests that childrearing practices have a great impact on children's social development. An understanding of childrearing practices that encourage the development of prosocial behaviors would be of special value.

This knowledge would enhance parents' ability to promote desirable behaviors and attitudes that help to ensure healthy adjustment. Research on childrearing indicates three factors that foster prosocial development: (a) A nurturing environment encourages prosocial behaviors, (b) certain teaching techniques produce prosocial behaviors in the child, (c) some corrective measures both modify deviant behavior and promote prosocial behavior.

The purpose of this paper is to: (a) review these factors, (b) critique methodological weaknesses of the research, (c) discuss implications for future research, and (d) suggest ways that parents can apply these results to their childrearing practices.

Factors Facilitating Prosocial Development

Facilitating Atmosphere

Nurturant and empathic caregivers. Nurturing and empathy among parents, as demonstrated by research, appears to be fundamental to facilitate the development of prosocial behaviors in children. Yarrow and Scott (1972) found that parental nurturance encouraged the development of children's nurturance toward others, whereas a lack of parental nurturance resulted in less nurturant development. Both nurturant and nonnurturant behavior of the nurturant models were imitated by their children. The results of this study

indicated that children were much more likely to respond to examples set by parents who were generally nurturing individuals.

Several studies have examined the positive relationship between nurturance in mothers and prosocial development among children. For example, infants whose mothers exhibited tender, nurturant care and prompt response to infant's crying during the first year of life turned out more obedient, cheerful, cooperative, and compliant (Stayton, Hogan, & Ainsworth, 1971). If mothers enjoyed the motherly role, the children tended to be more prosocial (Brody, Stoneman, & MacKinnon, 1986). Mothers who communicated interest and eager engagement with their children enhanced imitative performance (Waxler & Yarrow, 1975). Childrearing that was supportive, nonpunative, nonauthoritarian, and directive was associated with higher level prosocial moral reasoning (such as concern for other's needs) among five and six-year-olds (Eisenberg, Lennon, & Roth, 1983). Barnett, Mark, and King (1980) found that four to six-year-old girls' empathy scores were positively associated with mother's empathy scores.

Paternal nurturance also seems to play a part in the development of prosocial behavior. For example, boys who were identified as being most generous frequently described their fathers as being nurturant, warm, generous, and sympathetic. Generosity in preschool boys was found to be aquired through identification with warm, nurturant fathers. Fifth grade boys who were nominated by classmates as

being most helpful and considerate also had fathers who ranked altruism high as a value (Rutherford & Mussen, 1968).

These studies seemed to indicate that the example and attitude set by fathers had a marked influence on the development of similar prosocial characteristices in their sons. However, Barnett. et al. (1980) found that 4 to 6-year-old girls' empathy levels were negatively associated with their fathers' scores on empathy, affection, and emphasis of other's feelings. The author's report that heightened empathy in the girls was not associated with the individual parent's empathy, but with a particular pattern of mother/father empathy. They found that when the mother is more empathic than the father, the empathy may be identified as being gender appropriate for females, and they may internalize this value as a result. Similarily, boys who observed nurturant behavior and attitudes in their fathers, imitated what may have appeared to them to be sex-role appropriate behaviors. The emphasis here seemed to be that the nurturant model (whether evidencing a nurturant or nonnurturant behavior) was the one that was most often imitated.

Opportunities to identify feelings. Providing opportunities for children to identify both their own and other's feelings is another important aspect that has been related to prosocial development. Shure and Spivak (1978) reported that children were more aware of how others' felt and were more socially outgoing after being involved in a

social problem training program. This program used techniques that enhanced childrens' abilities to think through problems and decide for themselves what action they should perform.

Opportunities to respond prosocially. Along with the capacity to identify both their own and other's feelings, it is important to allow children an opportunity to encounter and respond to distress situations of others. Many researchers have considered such distress opportunities in their studies (Eisenberg, et al., 1983; Grusec, Kuczynski, & Rushton, 1978; Peterson, Reaven, & Homer,1984; Roush & Hudson, 1985; Smith, 1983; Yarrow & Waxler, 1971; & Zahn-Waxler & Radke-Yarrow, 1979). This practice was seen as essential for development of prosocial behavior (Smith, 1983). With increasing age, opportunity to choose to respond to stressful situations grows ever more important (Eisenberg, et al., 1983). As children's value systems are developed (as described in the preceding paragraph) the opportunity to operationalize their value system becomes of greater and greater importance.

The opportunity to respond to stressful situations becomes of even greater value provided children are able to make self-attributions regarding their altruistic actions. Development of self-attribution of prosocial actions could be encouraged by parents through praising children for prosocial responses, rather than praising prosocial actions themselves. However, the effectiveness of self-attribution has appeared

to be age related. Gruesec & Kucynski (1980) found that with 5-year-olds self-attribution did not have an effect. With eight-year-olds and 10-year-olds, self-attribution did increase generalized altruism.

Although parents generally encourage altruistic actions, Peterson, et al. (1984) pointed out that there are times when parents discourage some forms of altruism. This occasional opposition to prosocial behavior is based upon solid and sensible reasoning that takes into account familiarity of the recipient and personal cost to their children. This is an important factor in the development of altruistic giving, because it helps children establish for themselves (as they internalize the values of their parents) the appropriateness of altruistic-type actions.

Ideally, as children practice prosocial behaviors, a condition will develop where parents expect that children will be responsible to react prosocially (Baumrind, 1967). At this point, it appears that the value system would have become internalized in children, and their actions would be in accordance with their own value system. This would indicate that children had adopted a prosocial way of relating to others that has become their own.

Teaching Techniques

Modeling and imitation. Among the different teaching techniques considered in the research, modeling seems to have

received the most attention. Hay (1979) found that cooperation and sharing were imitated by young children one- and two-years of age as they interacted with their parents. He reported that sharing objects may be one of the most effective ways young children have of maintaining a positive interaction with others. Interactions assessed by Hay appeared to increase during the course of the child's second year. The nature of imitation however, differed for children at different ages. At age two, imitation was found to be based more upon immediate and affective behaviors of parents. At age three, deferred imitation focused more on meaningful and competent aspects of models' (parents') behavior, including for example, such prosocial behaviors as caretaking (Kuczynski, Zahn-Waxler, & Radke-Yarrow, 1987; Lipscomb, McAllister, & Bergman, 1985).

Grusec, Kuczynski, Rushton, and Simutis (1979) found that younger children (ages four to five) tended to be more influenced by parent's modeling than were older children (ages 7 to 8). For example, younger children's generosity was affected more by a model than was older children's generosity (Lipscomb, 1985).

Grusec, Kuczynski, & Rushton reported in their 1978 study that adults that used only modeling behavior prompted more child donations than did adults who used only verbal encouragement. He also reported that modeling plus the use of encouraging self-attributions by parents toward children resulted in increases in both immediate and delayed donating

behavior. Smith (1983) reported that children's imitation of models developed more rapidly when parents' words were backed up by demonstrative actions. In working with preschoolers, Yarrow, Scott, & Waxler (1973) found that children learned prosocial behaviors best when observing a combination of words and deeds as manifested by their caregivers. Modeling, then, when used in conjunction with other teaching techniques (for example, self-attribution or encouragement) appears to be particularily effective.

Verbal techniques. Researchers examining the techniques of direct instruction, encouragement, and self-attribution have focused on a slightly older group of children (ages four to 11). These children seemed more responsive to verbal approaches. Eisenberg, et al. (1983) reported that, for both the four-to-five and seven-to-eight year old children in her study, higher levels of prosocial moral judgment were associated with parenting style that included encouragement. Roush & Hudson (1985) found in her study of seven, nine, and 11-year olds that the older children increased donations as a result of repeated, higher level altruistic appeals and self-attribution. Younger children were less affected by these two approaches, but seemed to be influenced more by direct instruction. Grusec & Redler (1980) found that both self-attribution & encouragement increased donations.

Combined techniques. Grusec, Kuczynski, and Rushton (1978), and Grusec, Saas-Kortsaak, and Simutis (1978) examined modeling combined with various verbal teaching

techniques (self attribution, direct instruction, and encouragement) and their effect on the development of donating and sharing behaviors of seven- to 10-year-olds. Among the various combinations, they found that: (a) Modeling plus self-attribution increased donating, (b) direct instruction was as effective as modeling in increasing donating and sharing, (c) modeling was more effective than verbal encouragement (which did not make self-attributions) in increasing donating and sharing, and (d) encouragement increased sharing, but did not increase overall prosocial responsiveness.

Smith (1983) reported that exhortation plus rehearsal of desired behavior by children resulted in higher levels of ongoing prosocial behavior. Exhortations that did not cause children to practice what had been encouraged did not necessarily result in increases in prosocial behavior.

Correction

Three parenting styles. Corrective practices that modify deviant behavior and direct behavior in a more prosocial direction have been closely identified with the "authoritative" parenting style. Baumrind (1967, 1971) identified three parenting styles that utilized different disciplinary methods. She referred to them as the "permissive non-control", "authoritarian", and "authoritative" styles.

Parents who utilized a "permissive non-control" style were

much less controlling of their children as compared to the other two styles. These parents were less effective and less organized in running their households. They were insecure in their ability to influence their children and they did not provide strong models for the children. Demands upon the children were low, and the fathers were lax in their disciplinary duties. Children of these parents were lacking in self-control, self-reliance, and maturity relative to the authoritative children.

The authoritarian style of parenting was the least nurturant of the three childrearing styles. These parents had firm control of their children and used power freely, but offered little support or affection. They were also less involved with their children and reasoning was not included as a part of the disciplinary process. Children were not encouraged to express themselves. These children were less content, more insecure and apprehensive, less affiliative toward peers, and were more likely to become hostile under stress, relative to authoritative children.

Parents who adopted the authoritative childrearing style were noteably consistent, loving, conscientious, and secure in handling their children. They were willing to reason and be respectful of children's decisions. The parents were able to take a firm stand once they had made a decision. They tended to be more supportive and communicated more clearly to the children the high demands that were expected, when compared to parents utilizing the other two childrearing

styles. These parents achieved a balance between high nurturance with high control. Children of these parents were able to adapt to social settings and interact cooperatively. They were more self-controlled and able to join into group activities, were more self-reliant, self-assertive, competent, realistic, and content, as compared to children raised in the other two parenting styles.

Baumrind found that, of the three styles, the authoritative childrearing approach was most effective in promoting the development of prosocial behavior in children. Smith (1983) has likewise pointed out that children whose parents encouraged prosocial behavior, and saw to it that the behaviors were carried out, showed an increase in prosocial behaviors.

Eisenberg, et al. (1983) also mentioned several authoritative-type characteristics that she noted are important in development of other oriented, empathic moral judgment. Among both four-to-five and seven-to-eight-year-olds in her study, maternal non-authoritarianism and encouragement were identified. Also important for seven-to-eight-year-olds environment is a nonputative, nonrestrictive environment that encourages personal expression.

Induction. One of the strong points of the authoritative parenting style is parents' willingness to listen to children and reason with them. This is known as the inductive approach. Several studies have identified the inductive process as being an important part of the corrective process

in parenting for development of prosocial behaviors and attitudes (Abelman, 1985; Gnepp & Hess, 1986; Grusec, Saas-Kortsaak, & Simutis, 1978; Kuczynski, et al., 1987; Lipscomb, et al., 1985; & Peterson, et al., 1984). The use of induction is likely to be more productive with older children preschool age and older who are more developed cognitively. These children have a greater capacity to reason with parents and to understand the parents' explanations. Toddlers and infants have not yet developed a cognitive structure that can make equally good use of inductive processes.

Use of induction seems to result in a generalization of prosocial behaviors and in an internalization by children of prosocial values. Heatherington (1986) noted that use of induction was more strongly related to moral internalization than was use of power assertive (nonreasoning) techniques. Ableman (1985) reported that eight-to-ten-year-old children of parents who were primarily inductive selected television programming that was more prosocial in nature. Whereas, children of parents who used "sensitizing" techniques (physical punishment, deprivation, threat) tended to select more antisocial type of programming.

Punishment. In both studies cited in the previous paragraph, the terms "power assertive" and "sensitizing" parenting were mentioned. Both styles make use of punishment in their corrective techniques. Might authoritative parenting also make use of physical punishment? If so, what would be its effects?

Zahn-Waxler and Radke-Yarrow (1979) performed a study that found mothers of one-and-a-half to two-and-a-half-year-old transgressing children who made strong emotional statements to their children, coupled with explanations for why the behavior was unacceptable. These mothers communicated clearly to the children their expectations for socially responsible behavior and simultaneously corrected them through powerful emotional statements. This combination of power assertive-like statements and empathic caregiving was positively associated with higher levels of reparation and altruism in the children. Sears, Whiting, Knowlis, and Sears (1957) similarly report that punishment with preschoolers is more effective for more nurturant parents, and that punishment does the most good when it is combined with affectual warmth.

Parke's (1969) findings also indicated that seven year old children who had experienced nurturant relationships with their parents prior to being punished showed greater resistance to deviation from desired prosocial behaviors than children who had only impersonal previous contact with punishing adults. However, when parents provided a high degree of reasoning about why children should not deviate from acceptable behavior, both nurturant and nonnurturant children were found to be equally resistant to deviation following punishment. It may be that these children equated a high amount of reasoning with a high level of nurturance. We have already seen that reasoning (induction) is often

associated with nurturance (for example in the authoritative parenting style).

Through application of Authoritative parenting style Baumrind (1967) reported that fathers shared equally in disciplinary tasks. Both parents expressed greater feelings of control over the behavior of their three- and four-year-olds, and they felt less conflict about the disciplinary procedures they implemented.

In their 1983 study, Eisenberg, Lundy, Shell, and Roth found that three-to-five-year-old children seemed to respond more in terms of liking others and friendship when parents' instructions for a change in behavior were prosocial in nature. When parental instuctions seemed more self-serving, children explained their compliance with directions as being a response to parental authority or an expectation of punishment. Thus, directions that encouraged prosocial responses in children seemed to result in the development of attitudes that were more prosocial.

Hoffman in his 1975 study of nine- and ten-year-olds found children who displayed altruistic behavior had at least one parent (usually of the same sex) who communicated altruistic values to them. In addition, children had one parent (usually of the opposite sex) who used victim centered discipline. Hoffman found victim centered discipline to be of value because it encouraged children to consider the plight of victims, the consequences of their own behavior when perpetrated against victims, and it encouraged children

to imagine themselves in the victims' position. In summary, these studies have shown that use of an authoritative parenting style, that combines firm control and nurturance was most useful for development of prosocial behaviors. With this method, parents felt they had greater control over children's behaviors, and they experienced less conflict about disciplinary tactics they used. The ability to inductively reason with children was an important aspect of the authoritative style. The authoritative style was central in encouraging children's expressions of prosocial behaviors and in developing an internalization of prosocial values. Punishment appeared to be most effective when it was administered in the context of a nurturant environment, and when it was provided through a nurturant caregiver. Such prosocially oriented discipline encouraged the development of prosocial attitudes within children themselves. The combination of prosocial qualities and discipline operating together appeared to facilitate in children greater resistance to acting out behaviors which deviated from prosocial behaviors desired by the parent.

Methodological Issues & Future Research

Methodological Section

Many of the studies dealing with childrearing techniques and prosocial development among children were correlational in nature. These studies identified an association between

two or more variables, but did not address cause/effect relationships between associated factors. More studies that concern such causal relationships need to be developed.

Among potential threats to internal validity, some of the studies had a potential weakness due to subject effects (Sears, et al, 1953; Hoffman, 1975; Eisenberg, et al., 1985). In these studies, cues from experimental situations may have influenced children independently of experimental manipulations. For example, in the Roush and Hudson (1985) study, the extended silence that was maintained by the experimenter in the study may have been interpreted as a type of subtle direct instruction to give more to charity than children had already offered spontaneously.

Several of the studies also use self-report measures. This was a potential area of weakness in these studies, for respondents may have tended to pick good answers in order to place themselves in the best possible light in an attempt to please the experimenter. This method of information may have been distorted by subjective factors, such as personal bias. For example, Rutherford and Mussen (1968) found that the degree of altruism in fathers was determined by the opinion of their nursery school sons. The Zahn-Waxler and Radke-Yarrow (1979) study that used mothers as observers, was susceptible to biased reporting of the mothers' own emotions. It should be noted, however that in several reports, a self-report measure appeared to be the only logical and practical way to gather information.

Several studies also revealed possible weakness due to observer/rater effects (Baumrind, 1967; Baumrind, 1971; Hoffman, 1975). In the Zahn-Waxler and Radke-Yarrow (1979) study mentioned above, it is possible that mothers were biased in reporting their own children's responses. In the Yarrow, et al. (1973) report, experimenters were not blind to the purpose of the experiment; there may have been other factors which the experimenters inadvertently included that manipulated the children's learning.

In the Baumrind (1971) report there is the suggestion that conformity varied systematically with socially responsible behavior. There is a question about the degree to which conformity systematically influenced results attributed to prosocial development.

Eisenberg, et al. (1985) noted that interrater reliabilities were not obtained in her study. This limits the extent to which we may confidently expect the measures to consistently assess what they purport to measure. She further noted that the data were gathered in a classroom setting, and the results may not generalize to other childrearing situations.

In some of the research external validity was weakened by reactivity to the experimental arrangements (Hoffman, 1975; Eisenberg, et al., 1985). Subjects' awareness of their role in the experiments may have caused them to respond in a unique way that would not be generalizable to broader populations. Grusec, Saas-Kortsaak, and Simutis, in their

1978 study, expressed caution concerning interpretation of their results due to possible reactance of the children being studied. There was some indication that children were aware that their behavior was being assessed and that they may have responded somewhat differently as a result. Similarly in the Peterson, et al. (1984) study, mothers in the study were aware that they would be interviewed after filling out a questionnaire. These mothers may have responded differently than they otherwise would have as a result of this knowledge. In the Grusec, et al. 1979 study, the first experimental procedure may have suffered from a novelty effect. Children may have responded to the novel nature of the taliking table used in the experiment, rather than to the independent variable under study.

Future Research

As was stated at the beginning of this paper, most of the research in childhood development has addressed aggressive and antisocial aspects; much research remains to be done in the area of prosocial development. Eisenberg, et al. (1983) encouraged examination of other contributing factors, such as, peers, or cognitive ability that may influence parent's promotion of prosocial behaviors. Peterson, et al. (1984) noted that an examination could be made on the impact of such external agents to determine how they encourage or require altruistic behavior in children.

Several studies have raised the interesting question

whether or not prosocial behaviors and attitudes are developed through sex-linked socialization patterns (Barnett, et al., 1980). Grusec, Kuczynski, and Rushton (1978) have noted the possibility of a sex-related influence on effectiveness of attribution. Hoffman (1975) found that children will tend to pattern prosocial modeling after the same-sexed parent. Rutherford and Mussen (1968) encouraged research that would consider what role same-sex identification plays in development of prosocial behavior and at what age this identification is optimally effective. As these authors indicate, sex-related modeling and attribution appears to be a fruitful area for continued research.

Some authors (Kuczynski et al.,1987; and Roush, et al., 1985) have pointed out the need for assessment devices and other information gathering techniques that will increase our ability to observe and record prosocial behaviors and attitudes in children. Eisenberg, et al. (1985) for example, called for development of a child response method of gathering information about children's naturally ocurring behaviors.

Comments of researchers on prosocial behaviors regarding teaching techniques focus on three basic areas; self-attribution, modeling, and imitation. Grusec, Kuczynski, and Rushton (1978) pointed out that future research is needed to identify the usefulness of self-attributions for developing generalized prosocial behaviors in children. Specific studies should examine certain aspects of attribution and

specific age groups in order to determine what mechanisms make attributions most effective with children at different ages (Grusec & Redler, 1980). Additionally, it would be of interest to assess the difference in children's attributions of prosocial behavior. Lipscomb, et al. (1985) pointed out that through this exploration we would gain a better understanding of reasoning processes that underlie developmental differences in children's prosocial behaviors.

Researchers involved with modeling, such as Zahn-Waxler (1979), have called for a more penetrating and imaginative analysis of naturally occurring data on maternal models. Grusec, et al. (1979) identified modeling and temptation as areas requiring further study. In particular he asked, what is the nature of the effects models have on children who either yield to or resist temptation.

Several authors have also identified research areas concerning imitation that are in need of study. Kuczynski, et al. (1987) noted the need for more direct evidence of the role of imitation in aquisition of new patterns of social behavior. He also encouraged clarification of the role of socializing agents in the imitative process in the natural environment. Zahn-Waxler (1979) called for the clarification of specific types of imitation and generalized imitation. Yarrow and Scott (1972) stated that research on altruism is needed to better understand imitatively learned ways of perceiving, judging, and interacting with others.

Abelman (1985) noted that more research is needed on the

impact that different disciplinary strategies have on the prosocial choices of children. Parke (1969) noted the need for clarification on the role of intensity, timing, cognitive structuring, and agent nurturing in the effectiveness of punishment. Other researchers wish to determine what combined or multiple techniques of discipline prove to be most effective. Baumrind (1971) questioned whether there may be a combination of techniques that could prove to be even more effective than the authoritative parenting method.

More specifically, Grusec, Kuczynski, and Rushton (1978) have wondered what factor internal distress plays in motivating children toward more prosocial behaviors. Eisenberg, et al. (1985) have called for research concerning children's perceptions of the demands and disciplines imposed upon them by adults. Baumrind (1971) asked what part conformity/non-conformity plays as it is verbalized by childrearers?

Practical Implications

The purpose of this section is to suggest practical ways that parents may apply the results of this review to their childrearing. Suggestions are arranged according to three major factors: (a) facilitating atmosphere, (b) teaching techniques, and (c) correction. For each factor suggestions are presented from infancy through preadolescence.

Facilitating Atmosphere

Results concerning a facilitating atmosphere point again and again to the importance of parents being nurturant. Several related terms, such as tenderness, involvement, interest, and empathy have been identified that help provide a fuller picture of this concept. Development of one aspect of nurturance inevitably contributes to development of another. For example, finding ways for mothers to be more involved with children in relationship will encourage enthusiasm in the mothering role, and this enthusiastic involvement will encourage prosocial development. Several suggestions that may enhance parent's nurturant attitudes toward children are offered.

Parents might keep a diary of events in early life. Through developing an awareness of developmental milestones, parents can form a deeper appreciation of the growth and abilities of their children. This awareness may stimulate increased interest and involvement that may enhance opportunities for young children to develop a loving relationship with parents.

Understanding that children are relating to parents, even in infancy, may encourage more interaction on the part of adults. For example, knowledge that infants begin to differentiate their mother's faces from others at three months of age may encourage increased interaction between mothers and infants.

Adults can plan daily times during the day for playful

activity with children. In this way all interaction between them is not relegated to maintenance-type duties. Playtime should occur during maintenance as well. Children are thus able to relate to parents as friends and companions who will share in their experiences and will cooperate with them.

Parents may join or establish group activities involving other parents and their children. Parents will be able to find relief and companionship through sharing the joys and difficulties of childrearing with others. The reduced tension and isolation will allow them to feel better about themselves and their children. This will encourage the development of a warm and accepting home environment.

Married couples should share the responsiblity (and joys) of parenting. This makes parenting a team activity, rather than placing the whole weight upon one individual. It also allows each member an opportunity to take time to meet their own personal needs. Parents are then able to return refreshed to the parenting task. If parents' need for this private and recreational time is not met, it is hard to address nurturing needs of children. Groups of single parents can make similar arrangments for personal time by arranging to relieve each other.

Stress management removes negative pressure that can otherwise frustrate opportunitues for potiential enjoyment of children. Building in adult-child play times, spouse or group support, and provision of personal times mentioned above are all examples of stress management strategies. This

allows parents to more freely give of themselves to children. Stress management is therefore an important factor in the development of a nurturant atmosphere.

Empathy. Developing the ability to understand children's feelings is another means of promoting a warm and accepting home environment. Here are several suggestions for developing empathic understanding.

Infants will seek to communicate the best way they know how (crying, fussiness). Adults should learn to be attentive to these messages; they are the first opportunities adults have to communcate warmth and concern toward children. They are also the first opportunities children have to development trusting relationships with others.

As children develop the ability to verbally communicate, adults can develop the ability to "actively listen." This includes giving children undivided attention, hearing their comments, and rephrasing their words back to them. Such listening requires being responsive to children's needs; not merely placating them. As a result, children will feel esteemed and cared about. This will encourage in them the self-confidence necessary for initiating relationships.

Parents might also use a role reversal technique. This technique involves adults imagining situations from the child's perspective. This may enable parents to become aware of their children's needs and concerns.

In short, if adults are able to enjoy their children, be involved and interested, be less stressed by parenting, and

be empathically tuned to their children's needs, they are much more likely to be nurturant.

Providing prosocial opportunities. Parental recognition of children's needs to identify their own and other's feelings, and the need to practice prosocial skills, are important aspects of a nurturing environment. Parents should allow children opportunities to explore emotional experiences and understand consequences of their actions under the guidance of parental surveillance. They can assist in development of prosocial understanding by providing opportunities for children to identify feelings and practice social skills within the parent/child relationship. They can also provide limits for children's behaviors, which will help children learn to discriminate between prosocial and unproductive activites.

Personal prosocial decisions. As children grow older parents should increasingly recognize their need to make personal prosocial decisions. Parents should allow children to develop an individual ability to act upon their own value system that has developed through the shared, supported experiences of earlier years. They can encourage development of children's value systems by identifying prosocial actions as being the result of children's prosocial qualities. This will encourage children to identify these qualities as their own. Children then learn to value self-motivated prosocial actions, and have personal pride in their autonomous decisions.

Teaching Techniques

Imitation. Parents can provide cooperative, sharing models for young children to imitate. Through this imitation, young children learn their first prosocial behaviors. As children develop, they imitate parent's behaviors that are more competent and meaningful (such as caregiving). At this stage, parents encourage prosocial development by modeling somewhat more sophisticated prosocial patterns. For example, they may model the benefits of group activities such as making the family lunch, or dressing the family Christmas tree.

Verbal encouragement. The development of prosocial behaviors in children can be enhanced by parents verbally encouraging prosocial actions they see children imitate. This encouragement can be accomplished through simple verbal recognition of prosocial actions, praising of children's behavior, or by attributing actions or attitudes to children's qualities. Direct instruction by parents to perform prosocial action appears to be as effective as modeling with the eight to 10-year olds.

Practice. In addition to verbal encouragement and modeling, parents should see to it that their children practice the behaviors they encourage. There is a greater likelihood that children will generalize their prosocially learned behaviors to others situations if they practice behaviors that parents encourage and model.

Altruistic appeals. As children reach preadolescence, personal appeals to their own value system appear to be a more fruitful means of encouraging prosocial behaviors. By this point they have internalized the prosocial behaviors and attitudes of their parent and have established their own values. Parents must provide firm boundaries for preadolescents that will guide their behavior, while simultaneously recognizing children's needs for independence.

Correction.

Authoritative parenting. Correction simultaneously modifies deviant behavior and promotes prosocial behavior within the context of the authoritative parenting style. In this style, fathers and mothers share equally in the disciplinary tasks. Use of the authoritative style of correction results in parents feeling a greater degree of control over their children's behaviors and less conflict about the disciplinary procedures they implement.

With this style parents should set firm boundaries upon the behaviors of children. Parental expectations concerning what constitutes responsible behavior should be established. For example, parents may establish that playing in a friendly manner with siblings, or having consideration for others is to be expected. Through implementation of such boundaries, parents can promote prosocial activities and can simultaneously see to it that the behavioral expectations are

being carried out. Such expectations should be communicated clearly to children.

Parents should reason with children and should consider the explanations children offer them. Reasoning implies that adults are willing to provide an explanation to children as to why a given course of action has been taken. It is also important in hearing children's explanations to listen actively; this is an effort to acknowledge the understanding they possess. Reasoning with children provides them with context and purpose for the parental boundaries and it stimulates communication between parents and children. It also encourages personal expression.

Both boundary setting and reasoning should be used within the context of a nurturing environment, as has been suggested above. Without the acceptance and understanding of a loving environment, correction becomes less effective in promoting prosocial behavior.

Punishment. When embedded in a nurturant environment, punishment is useful in correcting deviant behavior and encouraging prosocial behavior. It is most effective when administered by affectively warm, nurturing parents. It is the loving concern of the parents that gives value to punishment as a prosocial/corrective technique.

When making use of disciplinary measures, parents should combine corrective, assertive statements with empathic caregiving. This combination was positively associated with higher levels of altruistic behavior in children ages one-

and-a-half to two-and-a-half years of age. Punishment to preschoolers is likewise more effective when administered by nurturant parents. When seven-year-old children experience nurturant relationships with parents prior to being punished, they show greater resistance to deviation from prosocial behaviors desired by parents.

When verbally demanding a change in children's behavior, parents should make demands in a prosocial context. For example, adults can ask that children pick up their toys so that others won't trip and fall on them. When demands are presented in this way, children's responses as to why they comply with parent's demands are more in terms of liking others and friendship.

Parents may also wish to sensitize their children to the perspective of the victim. This sensitivity may enable children to be more aware of the perspective of the children or adults who have been hurt by their actions.

Conclusion

This review examined empirical research on childrearing practices that facilitates the development of prosocial behavior among children from infancy through preadolescence. Three major childrearing factors that encourage this development were identified: facilitating atmosphere, teaching techniques, and corrective measures. Methodological issues and implications for future reasearch were also

considered. The last section attempted to provide suggestions that parents and other childrearing adults may use to increase their effectiveness in encouraging the development of prosocial behaviors.

To date research has predominantly focused on effects of negative parenting practices on child development. This review draws attention to research in child development that outlines relationships between positive parenting practices and prosocial behavior. Additionally, this review summarizes some of the prominent critiques of this literature to facilitate future research in this area. The practical implications section is designed to outline some of the practical implications of these findings for parent training programs. The incorporation of these implications into a cohesive parent training package would represent a significant advance in parent training programs.

References

Abelman, R. (1985). Styles of parental disciplinary practices as a mediator of children's learning and prosocial T.V. portrayals. Child's Study Journal, 15(2), 131-145.

Barnett, M. A., Mark, A., & King, L. M. (1980). Empathy in young children: relation to parents' empathy, affection, and emphasis on the feelings of others. Developmental Psychology, 16 (3), 243-244.

Baumrind, D. (1967). Childcare practices anteceding three patterns of preschool behavior. Genetic Psychological Monographs, 75, 43-88.

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. Developmental Psychology Monograph, 4(1), 1-103.

Brody, G. H.; Stoneman, Z.; & MacKinnon C. E. (1986). Contributions of maternal childrearing practices and play contexts to sibling interactions. Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 7(3), 225-236.

Cowen, E. L.; Pederson, A.; Babigian, H.; Izzo, L. D.; & Trost, M. A. (1973). Long-term follow-up of early detected vulnerable children. Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology, 41(3), 438-446.

Eisenberg, N.; Lennon, R.; & Roth, K. (1983). Prosocial development: a longitudinal study. Developmental Psychology, 19(6), 846-855.

Eisenberg, N.; Lundy, T.; Shell, R.; & Roth, K. (1985). Children's justifications for their adult and peer-directed compliant (prosocial and non-prosocial) behaviors. Developmental Psychology, 21(2), 325-331.

Gnepp, J.; & Hess, D. L. R.(1986). Children's understanding of verbal and facial display rules. Developmental Psychology, 22(1), 103-108.

Grusec, J. E.; Kuczynski, L.; & Rushton, J. P. (1978). Modeling, direct instruction, and attributions: effects on altruism. Developmental Psychology, 14(1), 51-57.

Grusec, J. E.; Saas-Kortsaak, P.; & Simutis, Z. M. (1978). The role of example and moral exhortation in the training of altruism. Child Development, 49(3), 920-923.

Grusec, J. E.; Kuczynski, L.; Rushton, J. P.; & Simutis, Z. M. (1979). Learning resistance to temptation through observation. Developmental Psychology, 15(3), 233-240.

Grusec J. E.; & Kuczynski, L. (1980). Direction of effect in socialization: a comparison of the parent's versus the child's behavior as determinants of disciplinary techniques. Developmental Psychology, 16(1), 1-9.

Grusec J. E.; & Redler, E. (1980). Attribution, reinforcement, and altruism: a developmental analysis. Devlopmental Psychology, 16(5), 525-534.

Hay, D. F. (1979). Cooperative interactions and sharing between very young children and their parents. Developmental Psychology, 15(6), 647-653.

Heatherington, E. M.; & Martin, B. (1986). Family factors and psychopathology in children. In H. C. Quay & J. S. Werry (Ed.), Psychopathology in Childhood (pp. 332-380). New York: Wiley.

Hoffman, M. L. (1975). Altruistic behavior and the parent-child relationship. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 31(5), 937-943.

Kuczynski, L. C.; Zahn-Waxler, C.; & Radke-Yarrow, M. (1987). Development and content of imitation in the second and third years of life. Developmental Psychology, 23(2), 276-282.

Lipscomb, T.; McAllister, H. A.; & Bergman, N. J. (1985). A developmental inquiry into the effects of multiple models on children's generosity. Merril Palmer Quarterly, 31(4), 335-344.

Parke, R. D. (1969). Effectiveness of punishment as an interaction of intensity, timing, agent nurturance, and cognitive structuring. Child Development, 40(1), 312-235.

Peterson, L.; Reaven, N.; & Homer, A. L. (1984). Limitations imposed by parents on children's altruism. Merril Palmer Quarterly, 30(3), 269-286.

Roush, C. L. & Hudson, L. M. (1985). Quantitative vs. qualitative dimensions of prosocial development: age-related contributors to children's donating behavior. Child Study Journal, 15(3), 157-165.

Rutherford, E. & Mussen, P. (1968). Generosity in nursery school boys. Child Development, 39(3), 755-765.

Sears, R. R.; Whiting, W. M.; Knowlis, V.; & Sears, P. S. (1953). Some childrearing antecedents of aggression and dependency in young children. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 47, 135-236.

Shure, M. B. & Spivak G.(1979). Interpersonal cognitive problem solving and primary prevention: programming for preschool and kindergarten children. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 8(2), 89-94.

Smith, C. L. (1983). Exhortations, rehearsals, and children's prosocial behavior. Academic Psychology Bulletin, 5, 261-271.

Stayton, D. J.; Hogan, R.; & Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1971). Infant obedience and maternal behavior: the origins of socialization reconsidered. Child Development, 42(4) 1057-1069.

Waxler, C. Z.; & Yarrow, M. R. (1975). An observational study of maternal models. Developmental Psychology, 11(4), 485-494.

Yarrow, M. R.; Waxler, C. Z.; & Scott, P. M. (1971). Child effects on adult behavior. Developmental Psychology, 5(2), 300-311.

Yarrow, M. R.; & Scott, P. M. (1972). Imitation of nurturant and non-nurturant models. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 23(2), 259-268.

Yarrow, M. R.; Scott., P. M.; & Waxler, C. Z. (1973). Learning concern for others. Developmetal Psychology, 8(2), 240-260.

Zahn-Waxler, C.; & Radke-Yarrow, M. (1979). Childrearing and children's prosocial imitations toward victims of distress. Child Development, 50, 319-330.